01/V-VI
FILOL-78

ZEITSCHRIFT

FÜR

CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE

UNTER
MITWIRKUNG VON RUDOLF THURNEYSEN HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON

JULIUS POKORNY

XVII. BAND

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS HISTORICOS

MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG
HALLE (SAALE) 1928

G. E. STECHERT & CO
31-33 E. 10. STREET
NEW YORK

Inhalt.

Seite

Ludwig Mühlhausen, Neue Beiträge zum Perceval-Thema . . . 1
Holger Pedersen, Irisch *miad* 31
Julius Pokorny, Irisch *úr* und *molc* 32
Wolfgang Krause, Zur Erklärung des irischen Äquativs 33
Roland M. Smith, The alphabet of Cuigne mac Emoin 45
J. Vendryes, Sur les adverbes de manière du type v.-irl. *in biucc*, gall. *yn fychan* 73
Rudolf Much, *Arepennis* 79
J. Lloyd-Jones, Some features of Middle Welsh syntax 81
Wilhelm Schulze, Zu den altirischen Glossen 102
Henry Lewis, Y ferf a'r testun 107
Dubhglas de h-Íde, Trí gáire an domhain 111
J. Glyn Davies, The englyn trisectual long-line in early Welsh metrics 113
Julius Pokorny, Archaisch irisch *óëc* 'jung' 128
Tomás Ó Máille, Medb Chruachna 129
J. Loth, Irlandais *col*, *cuil*; gallois *cwl* 147
E. J. Gwynn, Athirne's mother 153
Charles Plummer, On the fragmentary state of the text of the Brehon laws 157
T. Gwynn-Jones, Ein kymrisches Fluchgedicht 167
Vittorio Bertoldi, Irisch *find-choll* = gallisch **alisa* 177
Julius Pokorny, Conle's abenteuerliche Fahrt 193
Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Tuillim buide* 206
W. J. Watson, The Edinburgh version of Scel Mucci mic da Tho . 213
Osborn Bergin, Notes on the Würzburg glosses 223
Vernam Hull, The Middle Irish version of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis* 225
A. G. van Hamel, Über die vorpatricianischen irischen Annalen . . 241
Julius Pokorny, Zu den irischen Zahlwörtern in Südwales . . . 261
R. Thurneysen, Zu Verslehre II 263
—, Auraicept na n-éces 277
Julius Pokorny, Miszellen [1. Zum Scél mucce Maicc Dathó; 2. Air. *ferbb* 'Kuh'; 3. Mir. *idnae* pl. 'Waffen, Schlachtreihe, Heer, Banner'; 4. Air. *híth*, mkymr. *iwt*, bret. *iôd* 'Brühe'; 5. Mir. *eorna* 'Gerste'] 304
Myles Dillon, Nominal predicates in Irish. II. 307

Seite

Séamas Ó Duilearga, Tóruigheacht Duibhe Lacha Láimh-ghile [aliter Serc Duibhe-Lacha do Mhongán] 347
J. J. Savage, An Old Irish Gloss in Cod. Laur. XLV, 14 371
Julius Pokorny, Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen 373
R. I. Best, Notes on Rawlinson B 512 391
A. O. Anderson, Varia [1. The dating passage in Gildas's *Excidium*; 2. Gildas and Arthur] 403
Roland M. Smith, Morand and the *Bretha Nemed* 407

Erschienene Schriften
Henry Lewis, Chwedleu seith doethon Rufein o Lyfr Coch Hergest 412
—, Darn o'r Ffestifal, allan o lawsgrif Havod 22, col, 80—195, gyda rhagymadrodd a nodiadau 412
—, Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams, Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac eraill, 1350—1450 412
Ifor Williams, Chwedlau Odo, gyda rhagymadrodd, nodiadau a geirfa 413
Alfred Perceval Graves, English verse translations of the Welsh poems of Ceiriog Hughes 413
Patrick S. Dinneen, Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla, an Irish-English Dictionary 413
Tomás O Rathile (Thomas F. O'Rahilly), Laoithe Cumainn . . 414
—, Dánta Grádha, An Anthology of Irish Love-poetry (A.D. 1350 —1750) I. 414
—, Búrdúin Bheaga, Pithy Irish Quatrains 415
—, Measgra Dánta, Miscellaneous Irish Poems 415
—, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy 415
Edmund Curtis, A History of Mediaeval Ireland from 1110 to 1513 415
—, Richard II. in Ireland 1394—95 and Submissions of the Irish Chiefs 416
Tomás Ó Maille, Urlabhraidheacht agus Graiméar na Gaedhilge, cuid I 416
Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (Tórna), Prosóid Gaedhilge 417
Sir John Morris-Jones, The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Inaugural Lecture, from the Proceedings of the British Academy 417
Charles Plummer, On the colophons and marginalia of Irish scribes, from the Proceedings of the British Academy . 417
Alf Sommerfelt, Studies in Cyfeiliog Welsh 417
Arthur C. L. Brown, The Grail and the English 'Sir Perceval' 418
Ernst Schwarz, Zur Namenforschung und Siedlungsgeschichte ind den Sudetenländern 419
Oswald Menghin, Einführung in die Urgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens 419
R. Thurneysen, Cōic Conara Fugill, die fünf Wege zum Urteil 420
George Calder, Togail na Tebe. The Thebaid of Statius . . 420
Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, L'aspect verbal et les formations à affixe nasal en Celtique 421
Sigmund Feist, Germanen u. Kelten in der antiken Überlieferung 423
Zeitschriftenschau 427

MEDB CHRUACHNA.

Medb Chruachna.

1. Zimmer, in his article, Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund in der altirischen Heldensage, Sitz.-Ber. der preufs. Ak. d. Wiss. (1911, p. 177 ff.), comes to certain conclusions as to cultural and social conditions in Ireland in pre-Christian times as a result of his analysis of the characteristics and behaviour of some of the leading characters of the Red Branch Saga.

This behaviour in some cases is capable of another interpretation which puts a rather different complexion in part, at least, on the actions of these characters and their literary significance, and helps in throwing some light on the construction of the Táin Saga.

2. Zimmer begins with Medb as the most striking example in support of his theory as to the moral looseness which is supposed to have existed in the Táin epoch, and he selects as starting point the episode in the introduction to the LL Táin (LL 53 b, Windisch, line 1 ff.) which is not contained in the earlier LU-YBL version: *is me ra-chunnig in coibchi n-ingnaid na ra-chunnig ben riam remom ar fer d'feraib hÉrenn .i. fer cen neóit cen ét cen omon,* Wi. Táin, ll. 29–31, 'it was I who sought the wonderful bride-price which no woman before me asked of a man of the men of Ireland, i. e. a man without niggardliness, a man without jealousy and a man without fear.'

3. Before dealing further with this point, it is well to consider where the writer of the LL introduction got his material, and also the original form of it.

This is to be found with more fulness of detail in a text which is preserved in two slightly different versions, viz.,

Cath Bóinde edited by Joseph Ó Neill in Ériu II 174 ff. (with variants from Rawl. 13, 512) and *Ferchuitred Medba* in Anecdota from Irish MSS. V 18 (from the Bodleian MS. Rawl. B. 512, fol. 1 a 2–2 a 2). There is further a brief summary in Rawl. B. 502, 118 b 2.

This text also gives the name of the six daughters of Eochaid (Eocho LL) Feidlech contained in the introduction to the Táin, Wi. line 15, with this difference, that LL has Mugain for the wife of Conchobar in agreement with LU, where Rawl. and Lecan have *Mumain.* The writer of LL was probably operating with the source of Lec. and Rawlinson.

In the following, we shall take the Medb traditions in order, leaving the interpretation of their significance to the end.

Medb's husbands.

4. *Cath Bóinde* (= *Ferchuitred Medba*) deals in fuller detail with the episode of the Táin already referred to, with which Zimmer makes greatest play, viz., the number of Medb's husbands. The kernel of this is contained in the LL version: *da mbad étaid in fer ca mbeind, ni bad chomdas béus, dáig ni raba-sa riam can ḟer ar scáth araile ocum,* LL Táin 40, 41 (Windisch), 'If the man who had me (as his wife) were of a jealous temperament, it would not be fitting either, as I never was without one man in the shadow of another.' The general truth of the remark is, as Zimmer points out, borne out by several episodes in the Táin.

5. If we take Medb's husbands in the order in which they are given in this text we find that she was first mated, if unwillingly, with Conchobar of Ulster: *et Medb Cruachna* (*Cruachan*, Lec.) *ingen Eoch*ach *Fedlig ben aile do Chonchobur* (*m*athair *Amalgaid mic Conchobair*, Lec.). *Conad é Concabor cetfer Medba, cur tréc Medb Conchubor tre uabharr* (*uabar*, Lec.) *menman co ndechaid* chum *Temrach in bail i raibe rí Érend. Et isí cúis fa rabatar na hingena sin righ Erenn ac Conchubor, ar is la Eochaid Feidhlech dotuit Fachtnae Fáthach i cath Leitrech Ruidhi,* (Anecdota V 18 = Ériu II 176), 'and Medb of Cruachan, daughter of Eochaid Feidlech was another of Conchobar's wives, so that Chonchobar was Medb's first

husband, and Medb forsook Conchobar through pride of mind and went to Temhair (Tara) where the king of Ireland was. And the reason that Conchobar had these daughters of the king of Ireland (as wives) was because Fachtnae Fáthach fell by Eochaid Feidlech in the battle of Leitir Ruidhi'.

The same text adds: *conadh é cetádhbur comfuachda Thána Bó Cuailgne fagbail Medbha ar Concubur dá aindeoin,* (ibid.) 'and the first cause of the stirring up of the Cattle-raid of Cuailnge was the desertion of Conchobar by Medb against his will.'

6. It may be incidentally remarked here that the earliest date that can be assigned to this text is the early 10th century, as it has consistently the guttural declension of *Temair*, g. *Temrach* (older *Temro*, *Temra*), d. *Temraig*, right through in both MSS. The earliest instance of g. *Temrach* in the Annals of Ulster is at 914, then 915, 917, 920 (v. Lang. An. Ul., p. 150). It is possibly much later.[1])

7. The above contains two statements the significance of which will be seen later, (1) that Conchobar was Medb's first husband, (2) that his desertion was the cause of the first provocation of the Cattle-raid of Cuailnge.

Fidech mac Féicc.

8. The next competitor for Medb was Fidech[2]) son of Fiacc (Anecdota V 19) but apparently his suit was not successful, and he was pushed aside by his successful rival, Tinde mac Connrach. This is told in two episodes as follows:

(1) *Tinne mac Connrach Caiss do Domhnandachaib, issé bá righ Condacht an tan sin 7 Fidech mac Féicc don Gamanraid a cuiblichus*[3]) (*ic indleochus*, Lec.) *na ríghi.*

(2) *Teid Fidiuch mac Feicc co Temraig do teglomadh na rigi cur cuindidh Medb ar Eochaid Fedliuch, co fuair Tindiu*

[1]) Compare the independent pronoun in *corsáraig hí* (Anecdota V 20) which only developed in the late 11th century (v. Lang. An. Ul., p. 180), and the construction *dia mbeth 'na chele dhi fen* which is fully developed (v. Ériu VI 88 ff.).

[2]) Cf. Fidach (Hogan) 'a third part of Connacht'.

[3]) Leg. *i coibdelachas, i coibdleochus.*

*mac Condruch fis in sceóil sin condorala do forairi for Fidach mac Feicc, conustarrladar ac srothaib Sindu cormarbsat clanda Cundrach 7 Munodur mac Connrach Fidach conidh é sin cetadhbur coctha clainne Connrach Caiss 7 na Gaman*raidi. *Dogní Eochaid Fedlech anfír flatha ar Tindi mac Connrach iar sin cur cuir a ndithriub Condacht é 7 cuiris Medhbh a n-inadh rígh a Cruachain. Conustarla do Meidhbh 7 do Thindi co mba céledach iar céin mháir na diáig sin, conidh a Cruachain dognítea áenuig Erenn. Ocus nobittís mic rig Erend hi Cru(a)chain ic Meidhbh in tan sin, dia caomclodhataís coccud fri coicced Conchobuir*, (Anecdota V 19 = Ériu II 178), 'Tinne son of Connra Cass of the Fir Domnann was king of Connacht at that time and Eochaid Dala and Fidech mac Féicc were closely associated[1] with the kingship. Fidech mac Féicc goes to Tara to establish his claim to (lit. collect) the kingship and he asked Medb of Eochaid Feidlech. Tinde mac Connrach got word of this story and lay in wait for Fidach mac Féicc. They met at the streams of Shannon, and Munodar[2] mac Connrach slew Fidach, and that was the first reason of the war between the children of Connra Cass and the Gamanraige. Eochaid Feidlech broke faith[3] with Tinde mac Connrach afterwards and drove him to the wilds of Connacht and he put Medb in the royal seat[4] in Cruachan. So that Medb and Tinde met so that they were mated a long time after that, so that it was in Cruachan the public celebrations (lit. gatherings) of Ireland were wont to be held. And the sons of the king[5] of Ireland used to be with Medb in Cruachan at that time if they were able[6] (to engage) in war with the province of Conchobar.'

9. The statements in this episode may be summarized thus: (1) that Tinne mac Connrach of the Fir Domnann held, for a time the sovreignity of Connacht, (2) that Medb then

---

[1]) Reading *coibdelachus*, 'kinship', i. e. 'closely connected'.

[2]) He is equated with Mac Cecht in Cóir Anmann, 158, and also in this text.

[3]) Lit. 'caused a prince's untruth'.

[4]) Lit. 'in the place of a king'.

[5]) or 'kings'.

[6]) dia caemnasud. Lec.

became his wife, (3) that the public celebrations of Ireland were held in Cruachan, in other words that Cruachan in Connacht was the seat of the kingship of Ireland.

10. This apparently is also the authority for the statements contained in the LL Táin (Wi. ll. 13–25) giving the names of Medb's sisters, the daughters of Eochaid Feidlech of whom Medb was the noblest. The LL text adds: *conid aire dobert m'athair cuiced de choicedaib hErenn dom .i. coiced Cruachna, conid de asberar Medb Chruachna frim. Tancas o Fhind mac Rosa Ruaid rig Lagen dom chungid-sa 7 ó Chairpri Nia Fer mac Rosa Rúaid ríg Temrach 7 tancas o Chonchobar mac Fhachtna Fáthaig ríg Ulad, tancas o Eochaid Bic, 7 ni dechadsa, 7rl.*, (Wi. Táin, ll. 24–29), 'so that therefore my father gave me one of the provinces of Ireland i. e. the province of Cruachan, so that hence I am called Medb of Cruachan. Messengers came from Find, son of Rus Ruad, king of Leinster to ask me (in marriage) and from Cairpri Nia Fer, son of Rus Ruad, king of Tara, and from Conchobar, son of Fachtna Fáthach, king of Ulster, and from Eochaid Bec, and I did not go, etc.'

11. The next development in the Ferchuitred is when Eochaid Feidlech brings Medb to the celebrations of Tara. The text goes on: *Anais Conchobar tar eis cháich isind aonuch ac forairi ar Meidb 7 si ac dul co Boind dia fothracad co tarrla Conchobar di ann, corosáraig hí 7 co ndechaid ina gnáis da haindeoin, co closs co Temraig sin*, (Anecdota V 20 = Ériu II 179), 'Conchobar stayed after the others in the fair watching Medb, as she went to the Boyne to bathe, so that he (Conchobar) met her there, overcame her and violated her.'

12. Here again Medb is associated with Conchobar and this is possibly[1]) a re-telling of the story of her first mating with Conchobar (v. above § 5), and she loses Tinde mac Connrach in this episode. Here also Tinde's brother Munodar mac Con(n)rach is identified with Mac Cecht[2]) or Mac Echt.

[1]) But cf. § 22, below.

[2]) v. also Cóir Anmann, 158.

Eochaid Dála.

13. Eochaid Dála of the Fir Chráibe[1]) then comes to the rescue: *co ruc Medb 7 Condachtaig* (*Connachta*, Lec.) *slán leis tre nert imgona co nar lamad iad o Bóind co Sinuind*, (Anecdota V 20 = Ériu II, 180), 'and brought Medb and the Connachtmen (Connacht, Lec.) safe with him through dint of fighting so that they were safe[2]) from attack from the Boyne to the Shannon.'

14. Eochaid Dála was then appointed king of Connacht *do deóin Medba dia mbeth na chele dhi fen*, (ibid.) 'with the consent of Medb if he became her husband'. Medb then had her third husband with this condition: *cen étt cen omun cen neoitt do beth ann, uair ba gess disi beth ac ceili a mbeitís na tree sin. Dorígha(d) Eochaid trit sin, co raibi treall a Cruachain ana chele icc Meidb isin aimsir sin*, (Anecdota V 20, 21 = Ériu II, 182), 'that he should have neither jealousy, fear, nor niggardliness, for it was a "ges" to her to marry a man who should have these three qualities. Eochaid Dála became king as a result of this and was a while in Cruachan as Medb's husband, at that time.'

This again corresponds with the text used in the introduction to the LL Táin, *fer cen neóit cen ét cen omon* (Windisch, ll. 30–31).

Ailill mac Máta.

15. Next comes Ailill mac Máta (Máda, Rawl.) of the Érnai to Cruachan and he was then a *lenam maol* 'a bald infant' (Rawl.) or a *leanb óc* 'a young child' (Lec.), and he was already related to her, as her sister *Éle* daughter of Eochaid Feidlech was his grandmother according to the story: *Altuir i Cruachain Ailill iar sin curba milid mormenmnach 7 curba trettill i ccathuib 7 a comlundaib 7 curba tuir connmala catha re Conchobor é ac dénamh cocctha 7 ic din coiccid Meadba, curup e fa tóesech teglaig ac Meidb na diaig sin, cur graduig Medb é ar a sobhessuibh cur aontuigh fria é* [*é* om. Lec.]

[1]) One of the three parts of Connacht (Hogan).
[2]) Lit. 'so that they were not dared'.

curbá céli dhi é tar cheand Eochach Dala cur éttuighi Eochaid im chend in scéoil 7 cur hétaidhi Domnannaig tre chombáid, cur shamhailset Ailill d'innarba a Connachtaib amach, cona raibhi do Ernuib maille friss. Cur toirmiscc Meadb an gnim sin do denum uair ba dili leisi Ailill ana é, (Anecdota V 21 = Ériu II 182), 'Ailill is reared in Cruachan after that until he was a proud-spirited warrior, until he was powerful in battles and conflicts and a tower to sustain battle against Conchobar in making war and protecting the province of Medb (i. e. Connacht), and Medb loved him for his virtues, and he was united to her and he became her husband in place of Eochaid Dála. Eochaid grew jealous (of him) on account of this, and the Fir Domnann were jealous through sympathy,[1]) so that they sought to banish Ailill and all the Érnai who were with him out of Connacht. And Medb prevented this deed being done because she preferred Ailill to him (Eochaid).'

16. The story then goes on that 'Ailill became king of Connacht with the consent of Medb so that he was the king of Connacht at the crowning of the son of Etarscéle and at the carrying out ('the beginning', Lec.) of the cattle-raid against the Ultonians' (cf. Anecdota V 21).

17. This bringing in of the Érnai was probably an effort to connect the Érnai with the sovereignty of Connacht and of Ireland. Rawlinson B. 502, however, gives a different origin for Ailill. According to this text (p. 118 b 3) and the more common tradition, Ailill was a son of Rus Ruad of Leinster:

18. *Fergus Fairrce dano mac Nuadad Necht mac do suide Russ Ruad: Ise* side *arranic cuibdius i ndeud na comarc. Tri maic iarum la Rus Ruad* no *a* cethir *ut alii* dicunt *.i. Cathbad drui, aite* Conchobair *mic Nessa, Find Fili 7 Ailill mac Mata 7 Cairpri Nia Fer. Ailill dano mac Rossa air 7 mac Mata .i. Máta Muirisc ainm a* mathar *do feraib Oolnecmacht. Dosuidib dogairder Connachta indiu 7 rongabsat* side *hi r-rige forthu ara mathre .i. Doluid Medb ingen Echach Feidlich hi co feraib* Oolnecmacht *impi hi crich Lagen co mbertsatar*

[1]) Lit. affection.

Ailill leo do rigo forthu ar ba dib a mathair 7 dano na frith et no omun inna chridiu, 7rl. 7 do denam oentad etir in da coiced do gres 7 do chocud fri cuiced Conchobair conid Ailill iarum do acht Tain Bo Cuailnge cona tricha cet Galean. Corpri didiu hi Temair Find i n-Alind. Ailill hi Cruachain. 'Fergus Fairrce, therefore (was) a son of Nuadu Necht. (It was he who invented rhyme at the end of the lines). Rus Ruad had, however, three sons, or four as others say i. e. Cathbad the Druid the fosterfather of Conchobar mac Nessa, Find Fili and Ailill mac Máta and Cairpri Nia Fer. Ailill son of Rossa, then, and son of Máta he was called, i. e. Máta of Muiresc was the name of his mother who was of the Fir Ólnécmacht (i. e. a Connachtwoman). They then are called the Connachta and they accepted him in the kingship over them on account of his mother's people. That is, Medb daughter of Eochu Feidlech went accompanied by the men of Connacht into the country of Leinster and took Ailill away with them, for his mother was one of them, and also because neither jealousy nor fear was found in his heart, and in order to unite the two provinces always and to make war against the province of Conchobar (i. e. Ulster). It was Ailill who afterwards drove off the cattle drove from Cuailnge (i. e. carried out the cattle-raid of Cuailnge) with his 3,000 of the Galeoin. Coirpri was then in Tara, Find in Alind, Ailill in Cruachan.'

19. So far, even before the coming of Fergus, Medb had four husbands, the last of whom was a 'bald child' at the time she was married to her third husband. He was, moreover, grandson of her sister Éle. To him, after this time, she bore seven sons.

To find a parallel to this extraordinary story we must turn to another contained in LL 44 b 22, that of her namesake, Medb Lethderg.

Medb Lethderg.

20. This is the saga of another Medb, the Leinster equivalent of Medb of Cruachan. This latter Medb offers an exact parallel to her namesake for the large number of husbands. In LL 380 a 53, we read:

Medb Lethderg ingen Chonain Cualann ind rigain do Laignib mathair in da mac aile Con Corb mic Modha Corb mic Concabhuir Abrad-ruaidh mic in (leg. Ḟind) *Filed mic Rossa Ruaidh mic Ferghussa Fairrge mic Nuadha Necht. An Medhbh rofaidh sidhe la Feidhlimidh Rechtaid*[1]) *mac Tuathail Techtmhair la righ Erenn: Ro-fagaibh Medb inti Cu-Corbb roime sin 7 isi ba ben d'Fedhlimidh intan ro-marb Cu Corb i ræ chatha. Roba mor tra nert 7 cumachta Meidhbhe insin for firu Erenn air isi na leigedh ri a Temair gan a beth fein aigi na mnái 7 is le conrotacht in righ-raith for taeb Temra .i. raith Medhbhe 7 doroine si trebh thoghaidhe isin raith-sin i mbitis righa 7 ollamuin gacha dana 7 isi in Medb sin doroine in mar(b)naidh do Coin Chorb in tan ro marbad he ag sasad na cloiche fil for lighi Con Corp ic Sleib Uidhe Con Corb. Is ann doroine Medhbh in marbhnaidh ordraic. Et dobhoi in Medhbh sin i cein mair na mnai ag Feidhlimidh iarsin. Ocus isi Medhbh Lethderg dorat deoch nemi a Temra(ig) do Lugaid Laisi (mur tainic Eochaidh Fionn 7 Lugaid Laisi go Laigniu,* on margin) *mac Conaill Cernaig. Ocus isi ro-fhodhail Laighis hi* secht *rannuib 7 Fotharta hi* secht *rannuib. Asberat araili libair gach inadh i fil Laighus hi nErinn go fuil Fotharta i comocus dí. Is aire ro-fodail Medhbh Fotharta 7 Laighus in gach inad itat fa dhaigh na beitis d'aentaibh na a focus a cheile cidh atberar a mbeth .i. comadh lughaiti a nert a n-agaid a clainni ar ba gaeth glic in ben sin 7 ba haingid étrocair.*

Is aire robui aontaigh 7 catach mor iter Fotharta 7 Laighus intan dochoidh Eochaid Find hi *Laigniu dochuaid Lugaid Laisi leis ar ba dalta d'Eochaid inti Lugaid. Nert Muimnech roboi for Laigniu intan sin. Uair dobensat Mumnigh urrainn mor don coiced dibh da n-aindeoin.*

'Medb Lethderg, daughter of Conán Cualann, the Leinster queen, mother of the two other sons of Cú Corb, son Mug Corb, son of Conchobar Abrad-ruadh, son of Find (sic. leg.) Fili, son of Rus Ruad, son of Fergus Fairrge, son of Nuadu Necht. As to Medb, she mated with Feidlimid Rechtaid, son of Tuathal Techtmhar, the king of Ireland. Medb left Cú Corb before that and she was wife of Feidlimid when he killed

[1]) Rechtmhar MS.

Cú Corb on the field of battle. Great indeed was the strength and power of that Medb over the men of Ireland, for she it was who would not allow a king in Tara without his having herself as a wife. And by her was built the royal rath on the side of Tara i. e. Rath Medbae, and she made a select home in that rath in which kings and masters of every art were wont to congregate. And Medb it was who made the elegy for Cú Corb when he was killed whilst planting the stone which is upon the grave of Cú Corb. Thereupon Medb composed the famous elegy. And that Medb was for a long time married to Feidlimid afterwards. And it was Medb Red-side (or 'half red') who gave the drink of poison to Lugaid Láise (as Eochaid Find and Lugaid Laíse came to Leinster) son of Conall Cernach. And it was she who divided Laighis into seven parts. Other books state that wherever there is a Laighis district in Ireland there is a Fotharta tribe near it. It was hence that Medb divided Fotharta and Laighius in every place they are, so that they might not be united nor near each other though they should be said to be, so that their strength against her descendants might be less, for she was a shrewd, wise woman and she was fierce and merciless.

It was for the following reason that there was unity and great partnership between the Fotharta and the Laighis: when Eochaid Find went into Leinster Lugaid Láise went with him for Lugaid was a fosterling of Eochaid's. The Munster sway was then upon Leinster, for the Munstermen wrested a large portion of the province from them, in spite of them.'

21. Here we have the equivalent of the division by Medb of Cruachan of the Gaileoin (LU Táin ll. 192–194 = LL Táin, Wi. ll. 445–450). In this case, Medb Lethderg divides the Fotharta and Laighis, another Leinster people, 'so that their strength against her children might be less'.

22. She also has the same variety of husbands as her namesake of Cruachan. She was first of all wife of Cu Corb, then of Feidlimid Rechtaid, father of Conn Cétchathach, then of his grandson Art, and later still of Cormac mac Airt. She was in this way, the mate of a long succession of kings, and

did not allow anybody in the kingship of Tara with whom she was not mated.

23. Medb Lethderg's association with Tara is referred to in Esnada Tige Buchet, Rev. Celt. XXV 24 (= LL 270 a 45, YBL 113 a, Rawl. B. 502, 73 a). *Is and didiu ro·bói Cormac h· Cuind i Cenannas riasiu rogabad ríge* [*nErenn, ar ni-roléic* Rawl. B. 512] *Medb Lethderg hi Temraig iar n-écaib a athar .i. i fail Airt ro-bói in Medb Lethderg do Laignib, ocus arrobert-side in rige iar n-ecaib Airt,* (LL 270) 'Cormac grandson of Conn was then living in Kells before he took the kingship of Ireland after the death of his father (Art). Now Medb Red-side of Leinster had been Art's wife, and after his death she enjoyed the kingship.' There is a slightly different version in Rawl. B. 502, 73 a (= Rev. Celt. XXV 34).

The sovreignity of Ireland.

24. This episode is stated somewhat differently in the poem in R. I. A. 23 H 6, 199 a (= ZCP XI 40 ff.):

Doratsat Laighin na lann . righi do mac righ Eirenn
nocor fhaidh Medb lesin mac . nirbo righ Eirenn Cormac.

(ZCP XI 43), 'the Leinstermen of the blades gave the kingship to the son of the king of Ireland; until Medb mated with the son, Cormac was not king of Ireland.'

This makes the significance of Medb pretty clear. According to this series of traditions, it means nothing else than the *sovreignity of Ireland.*

25. The origin of Ráith Medbae in Tara referred to above and the alternation of the sovreignity between Leinster and the Connacht families (Cond, Art, Cormac) is dealt with in the same poem (ZCP XI 42).

Roghabsat sluaigh Laighen lir . ma Meidhb Lethderg do Laighnib
um secht macaib Echach *fhind . dar dhual airdrighi ar Eirinn*
Cath ar lethaibh Themhrach thair . robrisedh ann le Laighnibh

Cor cuiredh Cormac h. (MS. *hi*) *Cuind . o Themhraigh co Caladh Truim*

Claidhset Laighin ar in leirg . Raith Medhbha do Meidbh Lethdeirg

is Raith Mheadbha osin amach . a hainm do leth-taibh Themhrach.

'The hosts of Leinster of the sea betook themselves under Medb Half-red of Leinster, with the seven sons of Echu the Fair, to whom by right belonged high-kingship over Ireland. A battle was fought by the Leinstermen on the eastern sides of Tara, as a result of which Cormac grandson of Conn was driven out of Tara into Caladh Truim. The Leinsterman built upon the slope Ráith Medba (the rath of Medb) for Medb Half-red. From that time forward Ráith Medba was its name, on the side of Tara.'

26. The metaphor of the "marriage" of Ireland to a particular king is common from the time of our sagas to the days of the Jacobite poems in the 18th century. In a poem addressed to Cú Chonnacht Mag Uidhir (ZCP II 352), Eochaidh Ó Heoghusa calls him *a cheile indsi Heiriond* 'husband of the island of Ireland'. Cf. *mathair an fhlaithis Leath Cuinn*, (Walsh, Gleanings from Irish MSS., p. 29), 'Leath Cuinn, mother of the supremacy'; *nior ríoghadh éin-rí ar Éirinn ... do fhan a n-áontomha treall nár lamh áon-togha dh'imdeall* (ibid. p. 17) 'she (Éire) remained unwedded for a while, and dared not feast another favourite'. Right through Irish literature *Ériu* = *Éire* is personified as a woman. In later times, she is referred to as a woman without a mate.

Cf. also LL 21 a 43 which has *cele Macha méit ualle, cond Catha na Craebruade* 'the husband of Macha with great pride (was) the battle head (i. e. Cimbaeth) of the Red Branch'. Cf. LL 20 b 26: *tuc Macha iarsin Cimbaeth chucci do chéile di,* 'Macha afterwards took Cimbaeth unto her as a husband'. Later on she is called *Macha bean Neimhid.*

27. If we bear this significance of Medb in mind (i. e. as the sovreignity of Ireland), the meaning of the above passages and of the numerous husbands becomes clear. *Ni raba-sa*

riam can fer ar scáth araile ocum, 'I was never without one man (= husband) in the shadow of another' means that there were always rivals for the sovreignity, (Medb), and each occupant of power had to count on such rivalry and be a 'man without jealousy' (*fer ... cen ét*). He had also to be courageous to defend the his throne and be bountiful in giving gifts, as became a king.

28. *Medb Cruachna ... ben aile do Chonchobar* refers to the period when the sovreignity of Ireland (of Tara?) was in the possession of the Ultonians, they being the earliest dynasty: *conad é Concabor cetfer Medba* 'so that Conchobar was Medb's first husband'.

29. The desertion of Conchobar by Medb against his will i.e. the loss of the sovreignity by Ulster was the cause of the stirring up of the cattle-raid of Cualnge, in other words it was a war between the rival dynasties of Connacht and Ulster.

30. The episodes of Tinde mac Connrach and Fidech mac Féicc vaguely reflect a struggle for power of rival Connacht families, the Fir Domnann and the Gamanraige, amongst themselves. At a very early period, according to this tradition, the national celebrations which at later period were held at Tara were then held at Cruachan. (Anecdota V 19).

31. Cruachan was also at this time the strongest of a number of rival states which are represented as sisters of Medb.

32. The occupation of Tara as the seat of sovreignity was the occasion of another onslaught by the Ultonians § 11 (*co tarla Conchobar di ann coro-sáraig hí*).

33. The Eochaid Dála episode (§ 13) refers to the period when the western dynasty occupied the province of Meath from the Boyne to the Shannon *co nar lamad iad o Bóind co Sinuind* (Anecdota V 20), 'so that nobody dared (attack) them from the Boyne to the Shannon'. This represents the position detailed in the battles of the Táin.

34. The Ailill mac Máta episode (§ 15) is apparently an effort according to some traditions to associate the Munster Érnai with the Cruachan dynasty in the sovreignity of Ireland.

According to the better attested traditions, Ailill was the son of Rus Ruad of Leinster, a descendant of Éle daughter of Eochaid Feidlech. This was a probably a political effort to assuage the sympathies of Leinster by connecting the Connacht dynasty with Leinster, 'to unite the two provinces always', *do denam oentad etir in da coiced do gres*. Cf. § 18 Rawl. B. 502, 118 b).

35. The name Ailill may have been selected as being that of the king Oilill Molt son of Nath-Í who was of the Connacht dynasty, the last of them to occupy Tara and was slain at the battle of Ocha in Meath in the year 483, v. Annals of Ulster 482 (= 483) by Lugaid son of Laegaire. The story of Ailill and Medb in the Táin may have taken shape at this period. It is perhaps not without significance that in the entry in the Annals of Ulster A. D. 482 (= 483) the number of years from Cormac mac Airt to this battle is counted i. e. 116, (where 216 was probably meant), to accord with the usual tradition. The time from Conchobar mac Nesae to Cormac is also reckoned as 308 years on the authority of the writer Cuanu[1]) who was apparently familiar with the Red Branch saga and the Táin.[2]) The political significance of this battle which separated the Connacht dynasty from the sovreignity of Ireland has been dealt with by Mac Neill (Phases of Irish History, pp. 191, 192).

A possible connection of Oilill Molt with these stories is that Eithne ingen Conrach is given as the name of his mother (Cóir Anmann, § 147), and Fial daughter of Eochu as that of his wife (ibid.).

36. The Medb Lethderg, 'Medb Red-side' tale (§ 20) is probably the Leinster version of the stories detailed above. The name *Lethderg*, 'red-side' or 'half-red', obviously refers to the fact the sovreignity of Ireland was always half red

[1]) As to Cuanu and the Book of Cuanu, v. Language of the Annals of Ulster, pp. 8, 9. He is probably the Cuanu referred to in An. Ul. 738 (= 739) *Cuanu nepos Bessain scriba pausat*.

[2]) As to the probable literary reconstruction of the Táin in the 7th century by Senchán Torpéist, v. Ériu IX 75, Archiv III 4 (*conutaing didu Senchan 7 rocuir hi cairtlibur*, 'Senchán constructed it').

or bloody, a peculiarity which holds to the present day. Medb Lethderg is an exact replica of Medb of Cruachan, and divides the Leinster tribes the Laighis and Fotharta as Medb Chruachna does the Gaileoin. Moreover she is the mate of a series of kings of Tara from Cú Corb to Cormac mac Airt.

37. There is a possible connection between the two names in the Cóir Anmann, § 274: *Medhbh Chrúachan 7 Crúacha feissin, cid día táit? Ni ansa. Crúacha .i. Cróchen Chrodearg, inilt Edaíne máthar Mheidhbhe is úaithi roghabh Meadhbh Chrúachan 7 Crúacha feisin ainmniugud*, 'Medb of Cruachu and Cruachu itself, whence are they? Easy to say. Crúacha, that is, Cróchen the Red-skinned (or "blood-red") the handmaid of Medb's mother Étáin, 'tis from her that Medb of Cruachu and Cruachu itself got their names'. Cf. Cormac 242, *cróch cech nderg.*

Ráith Medba.

38. The name Medb may have got its origin in this place name Ráith Medba which is located in the east of Tara hill (§ 25, Hogan, p. 574). There is a duplicate of this name also, viz., Raith Chaerech Medba 'the fort of the sheep of Medb' in Roscommon, referred to in Acallamh na Senórach l. 7875, called also Raith Medba in Acallamh na Senórach l. 3860, from Medb ingen Echach Feidlig. An attempt to connect *chaerech* in this place-name with Oilill Molt would be far-fetched.

The naming of Connacht.

39. The connection of *Medb* with W. *meddw*, 'drunken' has been frequently pointed out. Cf. Pedersen, Vergl. Gramm. I 63, Stokes Ériu II 12, and the word is also related to O.-Ir. *mid*, E. *mead*, O. H. G. *metu*, Skr. *mádhu*, honey, mead, etc. The word occurs in the Amra Conruí, Ériu II 5, 12, in the phrase *medb domun* which is glossed *mesc dorcha*, 'intoxicating and dark'. It also occurs in the Boruma poems in Silva Gadelica I 361, in reference to Tara: *tiolach i toimled mid medb*, where it is not clear whether *medb* is a proper name or an adjective. There is also the Mod.-Ir. *meadhbhán*, 'a megrim,

a reel in the head'. The etymological equation seems undoubtedly correct, but Zimmer's interpretation (l. c. p. 196 note) of the name as 'die Betrunkene', 'the drunken one', does not equally hold.

40. The province of Connacht has got three names in the sagas, 1. Connachta, 2. Cóiced Medba (Meidbe), 3. Cóiced (n-)Ólnécmacht.

The fanciful origin of the third name is contained in the Cóir Anmann § 77, but the second and third names probably mean the same thing. *Écmacht* is from *ē-cumacht* the negative prefix ($\mathring{n}$) + *cumacht*, 'power'. *Ól n-écmacht*, then means 'the drink which renders powerless', i. e. which intoxicates. *Medb* then does not mean 'the intoxicated one' but rather 'the intoxicating one', the implication being that ambitious men were intoxicated by the wine of sovreignity.

The name *Connachta* is probably rightly explained in the Cóir Anmann § 76 as *Cuinn iuchta .i. iuchta Cuinn .i. clann Chuinn*, 'the descendants of Conn' i. e. the legitimate. Cf. *bid cond cách co húa*, LL 147 a 2 'everybody (i. e. every descendant of a king) has a legitimate claim as far as the grandson'. The meaning of *cond* as 'legitimate' may have started from *cond*, 'a head', i. e. 'the legitimate head'.

41. The following text also bears on the association of the sovreignity with Connacht: *Roptar íat da cóiced rotechtsat cland Heremoin .i. cóiced nGaleoin 7 coiced Ólnecmacht. Coiced nGaleoin chetus rogabsat síl Labrada Loingsig. Cland C(h)obthaig Cóil Breg* immorro *bá he a flesc láma side coiced Connacht. Conid airi isse* (*.i. Coiced Connacht* over line) *thucad do Meidb ré cech cóiced 7 dano intan na bíd rígi nÉrend oc claind Chobthaig Coil* Breg *ba cóiced* Connacht *a ruidles* (*.i. a flesc láma*) *conid airi sin no-adnaictís i n-óenuch na Cru(a)chna íat. Isin bruig* immorro *no-adnaictís íat o amsir Chrimthaind* (*.i. Niad Nair*) *co amsir Lóegaire mic Neill cenmothát tríar .i. Art mac Cuind 7 Cormac mac Airt 7 Niall Noigiallach*, LU 51 a 15, 'these were the two provinces which the children of Heremon possessed, viz., the province of the Gaileoin (Leinster) and the province of Connacht. The race of of Labraid Loingsech first occupied the province of the Gaileoin. As to the descendants

of Cobthach (i. e. the Victorious) Coel of Bregia, their private (hereditary) property was the province of Connacht. Hence it was given to Medb before every other province. And also, when the descendants of Cobthach Coel of Bregia had not the sovreignity of Ireland, the province of Connacht was their special possession'.

42. The question arises why the name Medb should be used in the sense discussed above. A possible origin is that a word of kindred meaning (*flaith*) was used also in a double sense, as 'ale' and 'princedom', 'sovreignity'. Cf. Cormac 575: *(F)laith .i. fo·laith. Laith .i. cuirm. Flaith* i. e. 'good ale'. *Laith* i. e. 'beer'. And *flaith* also means 'lordship, dominion', 'sovreignity'.

In a difficult and corrupt poem contained in Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin (Anecdota from Irish MSS. I 14), we meet the line

niba ri ar an Erind . mani toro coirm Chualand,

'hi will not be a king over Ireland, unless hi gets the ale of Cuala' (lit. 'unless the ale of Cuala comes to him'). It is perhaps significant that in LL 380 a 53, Medb Lethderg is called *ingen Chonain Cualann*, 'the daughter of Conān of Cuala'.

The following are further traditions of Medb, but they do not add anything very material to the foregoing:

LL 379 b 15. *Ferghus Fairgi mac Nuadat necht tri mic lais .i. Rosa Ruadh a quo Coirpri Cenndeirg* 7 *Crimthan* 7 *is ag in Cairpre Cennderg sin ro-boi Clothra ingen Echach Feidhlig do mhnai. Robhói thra righe* Connacht *ag Clothrainn* 7 *ag Coirpri Ceindderg d'eis Eochach. Is de sin tra ro eirigh esaenta mor iter Meidhbh ingen Eochach fa righe* Connacht. *Do cuaidh Medhbh isin Mumhain* 7 *tuc si le na* tri *Ruadhchoin do Mairtine Muman do marbhadh Cairpri Ceinddeirg* 7 *do bhein righe* Connacht *do Chlothrainn .i. Agha* 7 *Derg* 7 *Adhnuall anmand na* tri *Ruadh-Chon. Eirrid catha na tri Ruadhchoin sin* 7 *do-gnathaighdis a teghlaigh Meidhbhe. Romarbsat na tri Ruadhchoin inti Cairpri Ceindderg* 7 *do ben Cairpri a lamh des don tre(s) fer dhibh. Ro fuirmedh co mor for Clothrainn iar marbadh Chairbri* 7 *do ben righe di dia handeoin* 7 *do ghabh Medhbh righe* Connacht *dia n-eis.*

Rosa Ruad mac Fergusa cethri mic lais .i. Find Fili a quo rigrad Laigen 7 *Oilill mac Mata* 7 *Cairpri Nia Fer. In mac* aile *nach airmighther a coitcinde .i. Cathfad drai. Aen mac la Cafad .i. Conchabhar* 7 *Nesa mathair in Concabhuir sin mic Cafaid mic Rosa Ruaidh ut* poeta *dixit*:

> *Amhra in mhaicni maicne Rosa . rad gin mebail*
> *Oilill a Cruchain Find i n-Ailinn. Cairpri i Temair.*

LL 379 b 41. *Do luidh tra Medhbh ingen Echach Feidhligh for ceilidhe a crich Laighen* 7 *tuc si Oilill mac Mata dfer intan sin* 7 *do bert le Oilill d'or Erenn* 7 *do righi Connacht arba dibh a mathair iar maithribh* 7 *ar a brathair do beth na coigedhach a Connachtaib roime .i. Coirpre Ceinderg* 7 *nach frith et na oman ina chridhe* 7 *do denum aonta iter in da coiccid .i. Laigin* 7 *Connachta* 7 *do cocad fri Concobur* 7 *fri Coiced n-Ulad.*

Ise int Oilill sin mac Mata do fer Tain Bo Cuailngi fri Ultu cona trichut nGailian.

43. *Cruachna* is the form of the genitive commonest in the above texts. An. Ul. 773 (= 774), has also g. *Cruachna*. L. Ardm. (Thes. II 265) has g. *Crochan* and the word is commonly used in the plural: *hi Cruachnibh* An. Ul. 782 (= 783), *for Cruachna* ibid. 814; LU 38 a 40 has nom. *Crúachu*, voc. *a Chrúachu* 38 a 32, a late text which has also g. *Cruachna*. LL 157 a in a late text has n. *Cruachu* 157 a 30, and n. *Cróchen* 157 a 20, cf. LL 170 a 43.

Its derivation from *crú*, g. *cró*, 'blood' is possible, and the word may be connected with the name of the idol *Cenn Crúaich, Cromm Crúaich*. Cruachan may have been originally a place of sun-worship and blood-sacrifices, as indicated in the following stanza in LL 157 a 28:

> *Athesc Clothfir na ceirde . ra Crochin na cro-deirge*
> *nessu do gréin dia gorud . mo threb réil co ro-thorud.*

'a request of Clothfher the artist to Cróchen of blood redness: nearer to the sun in order to heat it (may be) my bright home with great produce.'

Galway.

TOMÁS Ó MÁILLE.